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ABSTRACT

Some memories are presented of black principals at Booker T. Washington High School, Columbia, the first public high school for blacks in South Carolina. Former students recall some of the quotations and sayings these principals used to inspire students. Booker T. Washington High School, which operated from 1916 to 1970 as a segregated public black high school, was guided by seven male principals and one female acting principal during its history. Overall, these principals were respected community leaders, widely known role models for black youth, and educators with considerable influence. Brief profiles of each of these leaders show the dedication they brought to the job of principal and the importance they placed on inspiring through example and speech. Educating black students to be productive citizens was first and foremost in their minds. The historical portraits are based on 13 interviews with former students, teachers, and principals. (SLD)

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Favorite Quotations that Inspired Excellence: The Black High School Principals of Booker T. Washington High School

by
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Favorite Quotations that Inspired Excellence:
The Black High School Principals of
Booker T. Washington High School

by
Anthony Edwards
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We all have our favorite sayings and quotations that get us through the rough times in our lives. For many in the African-American segregated educational community in the South, sayings such as "If at first you don't succeed, try and try again" and "Never give up" were prevalent. This historical essay looks at the favorite quotations and remembrances of the black high school principals of Booker T. Washington High School of Columbia, South Carolina--first public high school for blacks in South Carolina--spanning its years operating under *de jure* segregation. Along with remembering these principals, references are made to quotations used by principals to instill a sense of pride and excellence in their students to prepare the black youth of the city to become productive members of society.

The pathologies of Southern African-American education during the age of mandated segregated schools--when the doctrine 'Separate but Equal' was the law of the land--are prevalent in the literature revealing a one-sided position of the Southern educational history of African-Americans. I contend--as Vanessa Siddle Walker in *Their Highest Potential: An African American Community in the Segregated South*--that for a more complete picture of the learning environments that skilled black high school principals[1] and teachers created in spite of poor facilities, we must revisit the former segregated black high school. It is undeniable that black education played an important role in the shaping of Southern culture. In many of these institutions, the black high school was an important focal point of the community. The principals and teachers were looked upon as the leaders and pillars of the black community. Operating in the New South, the former black high school was a living institution that contributed much to the successes of its students, teachers, principals, and the community as a whole. In light of the "external social forces" perpetuating the detriment of these educational institutions, the black

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[1]Frederick A. Rogers cites in *The Black High School and Its Community* that the person who headed the public, black, segregated high school was the principal. The principal ran the school and indeed in many/some cases the black community. The principal was in the middle of the development of the community.

Ernest L. Boyer (1983) notes in *High School* that studies have been pointing to the pivotal role of the principal in bringing about effective schools. In schools where achievement was high and where there was a clear sense of community, the principal made the difference. Like a symphony orchestra, the high school must be more than the sum of its parts. Strong leadership is needed to pull together the separate elements in the school and make them work.

high school principals of the former Booker T. Washington High School of Columbia, South Carolina were looked upon to provide leadership in efforts to provide "good" learning environments for their students. The segregated black school was thus, according to Jacqueline Jordan Irvine and Russell W. Irvine, an educational institution that addressed the deeper psychological and sociological needs of its students. They characterized this by stating

> Black schools served as the instrument through which professional educators discharged their responsibility to their community. Black educators labored to help students realize their achievement goals. In this role both principals and teachers were mere but profound extensions of the interests of the Black community.[2] (p. 417)

In this essay, using the black high school principals of Booker T. Washington High School as a case-in-point, I make a concerted effort not to overlook or betray the injustices afforded the black high school principals in order to tell[3] of the "goods" they provided to the black high school and the community it served through their use of inspirational quotations. It is documented in the literature about the black high school principal's forced sacrifices, the

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[2]Irvine. R. & Irvine, J. (1983). The impact of the desegregation process on the education of black students. Key variables. The Journal of Negro Education, 52 (4), 410-422.

[3]Oral interview data are used in this article. Many of the informants frequently used pronouns when referring to the principals, teachers, and students of Booker T. Washington High School. In the documented quotes, I have taken the liberty to use the proper names or particular referenced names instead of pronouns where I see fit. This action in no way changes the true meaning of the informants' words. I am in no way writing an interpretation of the oral interview data to provide a narrative. The validity of the oral interview data is in no way jeopardized. I am incorporating this oral interview reportage technique for continuity throughout the essay.

confining environment that many found themselves in, and the unequal resources sometimes made available to them to provide caring and strong leadership in the educational pursuits of the African-American community. During this time (1916-1970)[4] of segregation, the black principals of Booker T. Washington High School operated with 'racial uplift' as the center of their educational philosophies. These principals were committed to transforming the lives of the African-American youth through 'racial uplift,' through ending racial domination. These principals were always opening doors of opportunities for the African-American youth of the city. The black high school principals were instrumental in ensuring academic achievement to the African-American students attending Booker T. Washington High School--using favorite quotations as one mean.

Booker T. Washington High School--which operated from 1916-1970 as a segregated public black high school--was the first public high school for Negroes in the City of Columbia as well as the State of South Carolina. In many instances during *de jure* segregation and after the 1954 Brown Decision, the black high school principals of Booker T. Washington High School were honored by the African-American community for meritorious service in educational, civic, and religious affairs. The job of the black high school principal at Booker T. Washington High

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[4]After the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954), Booker T. Washington High School remained segregated. The Supreme Count again issued an order for desegregation of public schools on October 29, 1969, finally dismantling segregated public schools in the South--*Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education*, 396 U.S. 19 (1969)--the obligation of every school district was "to terminate dual school systems *at once* and to operate new and hereafter only unitary schools."

School was varied. Other than being responsible for school management and organization, school supervision, and professional development of the teachers, the job of the black high school principal at Booker T. Washington High School included: (1) enlarging the physical plant; (2) broadening the curriculum to meet the need of changing conditions; (3) increasing the size and efficiency of the school's staff; and (4) enabling students to adjust themselves to the increasing demands of the community.[5] Nonetheless, at the top of their agenda was the academic achievement of students.

Booker T. Washington High School operated under the leadership of seven, black, male principals--eight if one includes the only woman acting principal, Mrs. Fannie Phelps Adams. Acting Principal Adams spearheaded many efforts that benefitted Booker T. Washington High School in becoming the premier African-American high school in the State of South Carolina, and the benchmark of the African-American community in Columbia, South Carolina. The black principals of Booker T. Washington High School were: (1) Mr. Cornell Allen (C. A.) Johnson, 1916-1931; (2) Mr. W. J. Cochran, 1931-1932; (3) Mr. J. Andrew Simmons, 1932-1945; (4) Mr. John H. Whiteman, 1945-1950; (5) Mr. Harry B. Rutherford, 1950-1965 [During this period, Fannie Phelps Adams was acting principal 1963-1965]; (6) Mr. Stonewall "Stoney" M. Richburg, 1965-1972; and (7) Mr. Samuel A. Heyward, 1972-1974. Overall, the black high school principals of Booker T. Washington High School were respected community leaders; widely known role models for the black youth of the community; provided understanding, guidance, and communications for the black community at large; the chief architects and

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[5]Sanders, P. L. (1940). South Carolina's largest Negro high school. National Negro Digest, 4(3), 52-53. Special South Carolina Edition.

implementers of policies and practices for the recruitment of black teachers. The black high school principals had wide-reaching influences that extended beyond the walls of Booker T. Washington High School.

The black high school principals, of Booker T. Washington High School, were persons who helped perpetuate the family ideals for the students, teachers, and the community. The students and teachers looked upon the principals as stern disciplinarians, loyal supporters, caring leaders, and true friends. Booker T. Washington High School began in 1916 with Cornell Allen (C.A.) Johnson as its first principal.

Maude Johnson Robinson and Ethel Johnson Berry remember their father as a 'gentle giant.' When perturbed by actions of his students, Principal Cornell Allen (C.A.) Johnson would firmly say, "I am not going to tolerate this any longer." He espoused the philosophy that "education is fundamental to a successful life." Cornell Allen (C. A.) Johnson was considered in 1947 by Dr. A. C. Flora, Superintendent of Richland County School District One, as one of the outstanding Negro leaders in the State of South Carolina. According to Cornell Allen (C. A.) Johnson's eldest child, Maude Johnson Robinson, her father was a native Columbian. He was the son of Reverend Mack G. Johnson, a graduate of Howard University.[6] The Johnson Family was one of Columbia's prominent black families; residing at 2328 Hampton Street in the Historic Waverly Section. Reverend Mack G. Johnson was the pastor of Ladson Presbyterian Church, the first church established for blacks in Columbia, South Carolina. After graduating Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte, North Carolina, Cornell Allen (C. A.) Johnson began his teaching

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[6]According to Maude Johnson Robinson, her grandfather was a member of the second graduating class at Howard University, Washington, D.C.

career at Mary Potter Presbyterian School, a private high school, in Oxford, North Carolina. Upon his return to Columbia in late 1914, Cornell Allen (C. A.) Johnson taught English and Latin at Howard School, the school for Negroes. In 1916, he became the first principal of Booker T. Washington High School.[7] John R. Stevenson remembers the first principal of Booker T. Washington High School,

> Principal Johnson was a strong disciplinarian, a man who had a strong ethical sense, always he did everything he could to make sure Booker T. Washington High School was running right. Principal Johnson visited classrooms, visited other schools, and the teachers or students never knew when he would show up. He was always there. And I guess was sort of the foundation on which Booker T. Washington High School was made.

Principal Johnson left Booker T. Washington High School to become the Supervisor of Negro Schools for Richland County School District One, Columbia, South Carolina. In his new position, he maintained strong connections to Booker T. Washington High School and the African-American community it served. Principal Johnson was responsible for the continuous growth of the African-American public schools in Columbia, South Carolina--including Booker

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[7]See "Historic Waverly Neighborhood." S. C. Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina. June 1990.

See Thomas L. Johnson & Phillip C. Dunn, Eds. *A True Likeness: The Black South of Richard Samuel Roberts, 1920-1936*. Columbia and Chapel Hill: Bruccoli Clark and Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill. 1986.

See "Waverly Historic District," 1989. National Register of Historic Places files. State Historical Preservation Office. S. C. Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina.

T. Washington High School.[8] His deep interest and devotion to high principles endeared him to all who knew him.

Principal Johnson personified the belief that 'firmness of purpose is necessary in the development of a courageous spirit.' Booker T. Washington High School needed a dynamic persona and aggressive leader to propel the fairly young school forward. Following in the footsteps of Principal Johnson was a tough act to follow. It was understood by the African-American community that Principal Johnson had set a standard for the black high school principal of Booker T. Washington High School. In 1932, one of the most popular and beloved principals to serve Booker T. Washington High School was hired--Principal J. Andrew Simmons.

When Principal Simmons came to Columbia, South Carolina he was described as a prominent and promising young educator. With his dynamic personality and versatility, Principal Simmons completely won his way into the hearts of Booker T. Washington High School's student body and the African-American community at large. While stressing scholarship and good conduct as necessities to a successful school career, Principal Simmons also brought with him a determination to have all students develop culturally,[9] morally, and

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[8]In his capacity as Supervisor of Negro Schools, Principal Cornell Allen (C.A.) Johnson received a Rosenwald Fellowship to study rural education in South Carolina.

[9]Maude Johnson Robinson and Ethel Johnson Berry say that Principal J. Andrew Simmons carried on this tradition of providing cultural events to Booker T. Washington High School and the African-American Community started by their father, Principal Cornell Allen (C.A.) Johnson. The sisters remember their father being responsible for bringing such notables as George Washington Carver of Tuskegee Institute and the poet Langston Hughes to Booker T.

physically. The academic and vocational curriculum at Booker T. Washington High School, under his leadership, was second to none. Principal Simmons had a supportive staff of many brilliant and talented teachers; the love and adoration of the students; and most importantly the support of the African-American community.

Principal Simmons broadened the curriculum to meet the needs of changing conditions, and of increasing the size and efficiency of Booker T. Washington High School's faculty and staff. To make the work of the school more unified and the curriculum more closely correlated, departments with chairperson were organized according to subject matter. Principal Simmons was a forerunner in the organization of planned activities. His design for activities served as a model for other African-American high schools in the state of South Carolina.

Principal Simmons was a progressive educator--believing as John Dewey that education is the fundamental method of social progress and reform. Principal Simmons was also very active in the Southern Association of College and Secondary Schools for Negroes--being elected president at the 4th Annual Meeting of the organization in 1937. In 1940, under the leadership of Principal Simmons, Booker T. Washington High School was named a member school of The Secondary School Study for Negroes (The Black High School Study)--a project of the Commission on Secondary Schools of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes.

Principal Simmons attended educational conferences and encouraged his teaching faculty to be involved in educational organizations, to pursue advanced degrees during the summers,[10]

Washington High School.

[10]In 1937, Principals Cornell Allen (C.A.) Johnson, J. Andrew Simmons, John H.

and to subscribe to educational journals. Receiving his master's degree in 1935 from Columbia University Teachers College, New York City, Principal Simmons remained on the cutting edged of progressive educational methods. For example, in May of 1934, Principal Simmons along with former Principal Johnson attended the National Conference on Fundamental Problems in the Education of Negroes. Speakers at this conference included Dr. Harold Rugg of Columbia University Teachers College, and First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt.

Not only did Principal Simmons's administration provide academic enrichment to the students at Booker T. Washington High School, he cultivated the cultural life of the students and teachers (at a time when access to cultural activities for black people was limited) spilling over into the entire Columbia, South Carolina community.[11] Principal Simmons directed operettas and organized the John W. Work Chorus, named for the person who for thirty years was the instructor of the Jubilee Singers at Fisk University, Principal Simmons's *alma mater*. The

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Whitman, and other educators from Booker T. Washington High School, founded the Richland Teachers Council Federal Credit Union. They started this credit union to assist Negro teachers with loans to study for advanced degrees during the summers. The white lending institutions of Columbia, South Carolina were closed to Negro teachers in the matter of loans.

[11]In my own research on "goods" in the former black high schools of the South, I discovered that the black high school principals of Booker T. Washington High School were successful when there were strong connections rooted in the wider African-American community of Columbia, South Carolina. The boundaries of Booker T. Washington High School were not rigidly drawn. The school had what Sara Lawrence Lightfoot calls "permeable boundaries" in her own research on good high schools.

purpose of the John W. Work Chorus was to instill the love for Negro spirituals in students and to assist in the preservation of the Negro spiritual. The John W. Work Chorus performed annual concerts of Negro spirituals for many years even after Principal Simmons was no longer in Columbia. Today, alumni of Booker T. Washington High School are still called upon to participate in The John W. Work Chorus.[12]

Ethel Bolden has fond memories of Principal Simmons. She says, "Mr. J. Andrew Simmons was called 'our principal' [Class of 1936] because he came to Booker Washington [Booker T. Washington High School] the same year we came there and he remained our principal the entire time. We dearly loved him." Ethel Bolden goes on to recall an incident of mistaken disciplinary action. She says,

> I remember one incident when I was mistakenly sent out of a teacher's class. . . . I was in the hall crying. This was my first experience and last with any type of discipline. And of course, Principal Simmons came down the hall and saw me crying. He asked me what was the matter and I told him. He didn't do anything but to carry me back to the class and he talked with the teacher later.

Ethel Bolden told me that the relationship between Principal Simmons and the teachers at Booker T. Washington High School was one of mutual respect. There was no question of who was in charge. Joseph Ruff said that the students both loved and feared Principal Simmons and that the teachers loved and adored him. Joseph Ruff remembers that "Principal J. Andrew Simmons was an excellent principal. He was a very fair man."

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[12]Booker T. Washington High School Class of 1936 fiftieth Reunion Brochure, June 26-29, 1986. Joseph E. Ruff, Chairperson.

Sanders, P. L. (1940). South Carolina's largest Negro high school. National Negro Digest, 4(3), 52-53. Special South Carolina Education Number.

Joseph Ruff goes on to say that

> Principal J. Andrew Simmons was born thirty years before his time. He brought to Booker T. Washington High School fine music, opera, operettas, and musicals.

Principal Simmons inspired the students of Booker T. Washington High School by incorporating the arts into the curriculum and supporting the classics--the study of Latin. He urged the students to become responsible citizens through education and hard work--*ad astra per aspera*: to the stars through hard work. Principal Simmons's favorite saying is still recited by many who knew him: "Thank God a man can grow, he is not bound with earthward gaze to creep along the ground: Though his beginnings be but poor and low, Thank God, a man can grow!"[13] John R. Stevenson recalls

> . . .certainly anyone who has been around Columbia, South Carolina has heard of J. Andrew Simmons. He had a lot of sayings and conveyed to the students and teachers at Booker T. Washington High School that there was hope for a better world. He urged the students of Booker T. Washington High School to take responsibility for their education. Principal J. Andrew Simmons had a profound effect on education for African-Americans in Columbia, South Carolina.

Principal Simmons is known for his untiring support of the students and teachers at Booker T. Washington High School. During the early 1940s, Principal Simmons was instrumental in advocating for equal teachers' pay for the African-American teachers in the state of South Carolina.[14] Many believe that due to Principal Simmons's active participation in this

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[13]From the poem *Per Aspera* by Florence Earle Coates.

[14]Beezer, B. (1986). Black teachers' salaries and the federal courts before Brown v. Board of Education: One beginning for equity. Journal of Negro Education, 55(2), 200-213; Also see *Thompson* v. *Gibbes et al.*, 60 F. Supp. 872 (E.D.S.C. 1945)--Action by Albert N. Thompson, individually and on behalf of the Negro teachers and principals in Richland County

matter, political forces from the white Board of School Commissioners of Richland County School District One, forced Principal Simmons's resignation. In 1945, Principal Simmons left Columbia, South Carolina and Principal John H. Whiteman, a teacher at Booker T. Washington High School, became the fourth principal of the high school.

Principal John H. Whiteman's favorite quotation was spoken by Brutus in William Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*

> There is a tide in the affairs of men,
> Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
> Omitted, all the voyage of their life
> Is bound in shallows and in miseries.

Principal Whiteman used this quotation to inspire the students and teachers of Booker T. Washington High School. Principal Whiteman stressed, to the students of Booker T. Washington High School, the importance of an education and the significance of becoming productive citizens in society. Whether it was in the hallowed halls, on the school ground, or from the lectern during the mandatory assembly programs, Principal Whiteman's message was always insightful, inspirational, and instructional. He was looked upon as an ideal role model for the teachers and students of Booker T. Washington High School.

Booker T. Washington High School's yearbook, *The Washingtonian*, was founded in 1950 under Principal Whitman's administration. The students of Booker T. Washington High

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School District One, Columbia, South Carolina, against J. Heyward Gibbes and others, constituting the Richland County School District One Board of School Commissioners, and another for declaratory judgement and injunction to determine and enforce constitutional and civil rights against salary discrimination.

School, at that time, say that Principal Whitman contributed to the numerous projects undertaken by the students and faculty. With Principal Whitman's dedication and interest in the growth of Booker T. Washington High School, the African-American youth of Columbia, South Carolina was assured a worthy high school education. The curricula at Booker T. Washington High school included academic subjects as well as vocational subject matter.

In 1950, Principal Whitman accepted the position of Supervisor of Negro Schools with Richland County School District One--retiring in 1966. He replaced former Principal Johnson and Principal Harry B. Rutherford came on board as the fifth principal of Booker T. Washington High School. Principal Harry B. Rutherford was a graduate (class of 1928) and a former teacher of Booker T. Washington High School.

John R. Stevenson told me that Principal Rutherford was a very quiet individual with a dynamic personality; that he was very well educated; and that he had a definite vision of the direction that Booker T. Washington High School should go. Carolyn Lloyd Carter recalls that at every assembly meeting Principal Rutherford would say to the students: "every last one of you will succeed, you will succeed!" It is noteworthy to mention that John R. Stevenson also said that "He [Principal Rutherford] was a very good administrator." Principal Rutherford made sure that Booker T. Washington High School provided its students the tools to a better life. Carolyn Lloyd Carter says,

> Principal Rutherford . . . was interested in everyone. He knew all the students at Booker T. Washington High School by name. Principal Rutherford . . . would walk the halls . . . would intervene . . . would speak to the students and ask how was our day, was there anything that we needed, and that made us feel that we belonged.

Principal Rutherford is remembered as a strict disciplinarian. Even though Principal Rutherford

was keeping the students in line, Carolyn Lloyd Carter recalls that,

> Principal Rutherford made you feel like, he was interested in what a student at Booker T. Washington High School did. He was trying to make all students into better people. Principal Rutherford was a good administrator and he left a legacy to the students and teachers of Booker T. Washington High School and the African-American community to guide our lives by . . . Principal Rutherford was like a father to the students of Booker T. Washington High School.

In 1963, Principal Rutherford left Booker T. Washington High School to pursue a doctorate degree at Harvard University. The African-American community awaited his return. However, it was not to be. During this hiatus (1963-1965) in Booker T. Washington High School's history without a permanent principal, assistant Principal Adams served in the capacity as acting principal of Booker T. Washington High School.

During this era of segregated schooling in the American South, African-American men retained their near monopoly on the principalship in South Carolina's black high schools.[15] The social and cultural milieu of Booker T. Washington High School proved this to be the case. This pattern in educational administration followed a paradigm that can be explained by the character of the black high school and its shaping of the behavior of its constituents and by male hegemony in society as a whole. Nonetheless, in 1963 Fannie Phelps Adams was named acting principal of Booker T. Washington High School.

Acting Principal Adams is remembered for her stated philosophy, "If I can help somebody as I pass along, then my living shall not be in vain." Acting Principal Adams lived up

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[15]Floyd, J. (1973). A study of displaced Black high school principals in the state of South Carolina, 1963-1973. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

to her beliefs. In the 1967 *Washingtonian* dedication to her, the students of Booker T. Washington High School said of Acting Principal Adams:

> A devout Christian whose spiritual values we revere; A tolerant and compassionate counselor whose advice we heed; An understanding friend whose smiles and consoling words we cherish; A leader whose positive image of youth we glorify; A worker whose loyalty and devotion we hope to exemplify; A Spartan whom we respect, honor, and love.

John R. Stevenson remembers that,

> Fannie Phelps Adams . . . was a very strong influence . . . was an extremely strong person . . . Fannie Phelps Adams lived and breathed Booker T. Washington High School . . . Booker T. Washington High School was her heart and her soul and she put herself into it . . . Fannie Phelps Adams is today still a remarkable person. She was able to motivate the students at Booker T. Washington High School and to convince them that education was important to them and that they could do whatever it took in order to be successful.

During acting Principal Adams's tenure, the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 National Policy of Affirmative Action carried out by President Lyndon B. Johnson's executive order number 11246 provided major impetuses for the desegregation activities of Richland County School District One schools. Booker T. Washington High School needed leadership that was not on a meantime basis. In 1965, Principal Stonewall M. Richburg, a former teacher at Booker T. Washington High School, was named as the sixth principal of Booker T. Washington High School. Holding fast to the ideals of the past principals of Booker T. Washington High School, Principal Richburg guided Booker T. Washington High School through the tumultuous era of desegregation.

Principal Richburg believed that a wholesome self-concept projected to others with goodwill breeds success in any undertaking, and that success is sustained through hard work and dedication. He firmly asserted that goodwill is the mother of all virtues. As the head of the

Booker T. Washington High School family, Principal Richburg worked toward making Booker T. Washington High School one to be remembered with pride. Principal Richburg wrote to the class of 1966 that

> . . .Booker T. Washington High School stands one among many educational institutions dedicated to the processes of our democratic society; and that education is now more vital to the survival and progress of mankind than at any other time in history.[16]

John R. Stevenson recalls:

> Principal Richburg was and still is a very fine person. I had the opportunity to know him when he was at Booker T. Washington High School . . . another strong person, a strong personality, a person who worked well with the students, teachers, and the community. Principal Richburg had a strong work ethic. He believed in working until the job was done. . . .Principal Richburg believed in abiding by the rules. . . .An excellent person.

During Principal Richburg's tenure at Booker T. Washington High School, the school was desegregated. Walter Edgar notes that when South Carolina public schools opened in the fall of 1970, all districts operated unitary systems. In Columbia (Richland School District One), Booker T. Washington High School went from being all-black to 60 percent white. Blacks believed they "had to give up everything" they had in their former schools (mascots, team colors, yearbooks, school newspapers, and other extracurricular activities).[17]

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[16]See the Booker T. Washington High School *Washingtonian* 1966, volume XII, p. 8.

[17]Edgar, W. (1998). South Carolina: A History. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.

I believe that with Booker T. Washington High School becoming 60 percent white after desegregation--the practice of effecting an end to the practice of segregation--integration was not achieved in that a combination of separate and diverse elements or units into a more complete or

Principal Richburg left Booker T. Washington High School in 1972. He was transferred to the Richland County School District One Central Office with the title Administrative Assistant to the Superintendent. Principal Richburg had successfully guided Booker T. Washington High School through the desegregation process. Booker T. Washington High School was integrated during the 1970-1971 school year.[18] Principal Samuel A. Heyward was named as successor--replacement principal--to Principal Richburg. Principal Heyward became the seventh and final black principal of Booker T. Washington High School. Principal Heyward's two year tenure came to an anticipated end in 1974 when Booker T. Washington High School was permanently closed.

Booker T. Washington High School operated during an era when domination and oppression of African Americans in the southern United States were mainstays. Nonetheless, the black principals, in particular, confronted the reality that education was paramount to dismantle this system of 'separate and unequal.' Their use of inspirational quotations assisted in this educational effort. Richard Shaull asserts this ideology in his introduction to Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* by saying that education functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring

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harmonious whole was not obtained. [See "Webster's Third New International Dictionary: unabridged" 1993]

[18]The black high school, the black high school principal, especially males, and the black community were casualties of desegregation--the practice of effecting an end to the practice of segregation.

about conformity to it.[19]

Quotations and favorite sayings were used by principals of Booker T. Washington High School with hopes of inspiring the students, teachers, and members of the African-American community to reach for the stars, to become the best that they could be, to be productive citizens of America--to participate in the transformation of the world, and to be responsible for their education. The black high school principals of Booker T. Washington High School sought to develop character, democratic ideals, a sense of responsibility, and diligence in all students of the school. These leaders felt that the development of vocational education, distributive education, co-op training, homemaking, and extracurricular activities were important in providing some students a myriad of opportunities for achievement. In Columbia, South Carolina, Booker T. Washington High School was an institution that gave black youth a sense of pride and hope for a better life. The solid, segregated, public school experience was dependent upon a close knit and supportive family unit, dedicated teachers that provided virtuous instruction and guidance, and adored and honored principals that provided stern and unquestioned leadership and growth. Sara Lawrence Lightfoot says

> . . .an essential ingredient of good schools is strong, consistent, and inspired leadership. The tone and culture of schools is said to be defined by the vision and purposeful action of the principal. He is said to be the person who must inspire the commitment and energies of his faculty; the respect, if not the admiration of his students; and the trust of the parents. He sits on the boundaries between school and community; must negotiate with the superintendent and school board; must protect teachers from external intrusion and harassment; and must be the public imagemaker and spokesman for the school.[20] (p. 323)

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[19]Freire, P. (1970). Pedagogy of the oppressed. New York, NY: Herder and Herden.

[20]Lightfoot, S. L. (1983). The good high school: Portraits of character and culture, New

The black principals of Booker T. Washington High School epitomized the integrity, loyalty, optimism, and high moral character that were needed in order to be dynamic leaders in the African-American community. The black high school principals of Booker T. Washington High School were never too busy to listen to problems of the students and teachers; and they gave advice and words of wisdom to willing recipients. Keeping order and believing that education was the key to all worthwhile successes, these black high school principals helped to guide Booker T. Washington High School down the perilous road of providing "goods/excellences" to the community it served. The principals of Booker T. Washington High School felt a need to assist in the positive growth of the school and they aided the teachers' work in providing a quality education to the youth of the community.[21] John R. Stevenson says that,

> . . .the principals at Booker T. Washington High School were all outstanding people, very committed to education . . . .They made a commitment to make sure that everything they had to pass on, their values as well as their knowledge, were passed on to the students and teachers at Booker T. Washington High School.

The black principals of Booker T. Washington High School showed a genuine interest in

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York City, NY: Basic Books, Inc. Also see "High School Principal: Man in the Middle," *Daedalus* 110 (Summer 1981): 105-118--Gordon McAndrew vividly describes the multiple demands made on the high school principal and the many constituencies to whom he must relate and between whom he must negotiate; and H. Wolcot, *The Man in the Principal's Office: An Ethnography* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1973).

[21]Edwards, A. (1998). Booker T. Washington High School (1916-1974): Voices of remembrance. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina.

the welfare of each and every student. These principals helped to instill, in the students, a desire to learn and to appreciate the value of an education. The black principals of Booker T. Washington High School made sure that each and every student was prepared to become a productive citizen of American society. It is best said in the words painted on a sign that hung outside the main administration building at Booker T. Washington High School: "Washingtonians Work to Build a Strong United America"; and in the words of Principal Rutherford,

> . . .we at Booker T. Washington High School are proud. It is most rewarding to have our students take pride in themselves and Booker T. Washington High School. It is our hope that you continue to exemplify those qualities that bespeak good citizens in the making.[22]

The black principals of Booker T. Washington High School helped to set and maintain high standards for the teachers and especially the students. These seven men and one woman were interested in the uplift of the African-American people. First and foremost in their minds was educating the African-American youth of Columbia, South Carolina to become productive and proud citizens of America.

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[22]See the Diamond Jubilee, Seventy-Fifth Anniversary, Souvenir Edition, June, 1991, *The Comet: A Medium of Student Expression*, p. 36. Booker T. Washington High School Foundation, Columbia, South Carolina.

Oral Interviews

Tape Recorded Interviews

Adams, Fannie Phelps. Interview by author, December 5, 1996, Columbia, SC. Student, Teacher, Guidance Counselor, Assistant Principal, and Acting Principal at Booker T. Washington High School. Graduated in 1934.

Barber, Ulysses Rufus. Interview by author, November 14, 1996, Hopkins, SC. Student at Booker T. Washington High School. Graduated in 1934.

Bolden, Ethel Martin. Interview by author, June 5, 1997, Columbia, SC. Student at Booker T. Washington High School. Graduated in 1936.

Carter, Carolyn Lloyd. Interview by author, November 11, 1997, Columbia, SC. Student at Booker T. Washington High School. Graduated in 1959.

Fair, Gardinia Warley. Interview by author, November 11, 1997, Columbia, SC. Student at Booker T. Washington High School. Graduated in 1938.

Goforth, Gladys Butler. Interview by author, March 19, 1996, Columbia, SC. Student and teacher at Booker T. Washington High School. Graduated in 1944.

Nelson, Herbert C. Jr. Interview by author, January 30, 1997, Columbia, SC. Student at Booker T. Washington High School. Graduated in 1946.

Reynolds, Robert. Interview by author, October 1, 1996, Columbia, SC. Teacher and Coach at Booker T. Washington High School (1958-1974).

Richburg, Stonewall M. Interview by author, February 14, 1996, Columbia, SC. Mechanical Drawing teacher at Booker (1946-1956) and Principal at Booker T. Washington High School (1965-1972). Only surviving principal at the time of this study.

Robinson, Maude Johnson. Interview by author, October 23, 1997, Columbia, SC. Student at Booker T. Washington High School. Graduated in 1931. Daughter of C. A. Johnson, first principal of Booker T. Washington High School.

Ruff, Joseph E. Interview by author, June 11, 1997, Columbia, SC. Student at Booker T. Washington High School. Graduated in 1936.

Sims, Esther Ruth Butler. Interview by author and Carol Shields, November 6, 1995, Columbia, SC. Student at Booker T. Washington High School. Graduated in 1946.

Stevenson, John R. Interview by author, November 6, 1997, Columbia, SC. Mother was a teacher at Booker. He was a teacher in the Columbia City Schools beginning in 1955. Became an administrator in the Richland County School District One retiring as Superintendent of Schools.